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Social Reintegration in Post-conflict Societies

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At the end of the cold war, the international community watched the global balance shift unleash hidden animosities and new power struggles. With them came the birth of a different kind of conflict, unprecedented in measure. Yesterday's ideologically rooted, interstate conflicts have thus been replaced by internal strife of a communal, intergroup nature. Today, these more numerous and pernicious conflicts are fought on a local level between neighbors and community members across identity lines, affecting millions of ordinary citizens. In their wake, they leave a swath not only of destroyed infrastructure and ruined markets, but indeterminable social and psychological damage. Recently, as many countries' fragile peace becomes more tenuous and violence threatens to reignite, the international community is taking a fresh interest in this critical post-conflict period.

The response of the international community in the aftermath of such turmoil has traditionally concentrated on physical and economic reconstruction, often overlooking the key determinants of social and psychological well-being. At the same time, the attention given to broad recovery programs loses sight of the critical role of the individual. In recent years, however, we have watched how conflict seeps down through all aspects of society, ultimately pooling in the lowest element, that of the community and its members. Consequently, to ignore the grass roots is to overlook a critical component of the rehabilitation equation.

This paper takes a timely look at the post-conflict community and its internal requirements for rebuilding social cohesion. It examines the key components in contemporary armed violence and their repercussions on community life. It then introduces a holistic conceptual framework for social reintegration involving five consecutive phases of community healing. Within these phases, it offers examples of international rehabilitation efforts in recent post-conflict contexts. The paper concludes with a vision of future involvement incorporating lessons learned from past experience.

Ingredients in Today's Conflicts

The cessation of the cold war elicited a resounding shock from international observers about the intensity of intergroup animosity harbored throughout the world. The number of major armed conflicts—defined as those accumulating more than 1,000 deaths—rose from 32 in 1989 (Ahlström, *Casualties of Conflict*, p. 4), to 47 in 1993 (Wallenstein and Axell, "Conflict Resolution," p. 7). More notable than the increase, however, is the fact that all of these contemporary conflicts were between identity-based elements internal to the country. The West's tendency to codify the majority of these violent struggles as "ethnic" oversimplifies the root causes. Fundamentally, they are borne of intense animosity between identity groups, including, but not limited to those based on culture, ethnicity, geographic affiliation, language, nationality, race, religion, or tribe. As a result, today's armed battles can be broadly labeled "identity conflicts."

The force of the 1990s, identity conflict is borne of divisions in society and thrives on

their expansion. It is rooted in the fundamental characterization of self—that element of identity that most determines one’s relationship to others. It is this point of personal distinction in the individual that grows the separation between people of differing dialect, ethnicity, family lineage, or religion. The underlying foundation for modern conflict finds companionship and motivation in others with similar feelings. Its mutuality becomes the shared pivot point in the execution of collective violence inspired by a growing sense of group self and its distinction with respect to others. Although the face of identity conflict has appeared in the past, its emergence at the turn of the decade as the prevalent form of violence has produced such notable trouble spots as Burundi, the Caucasus, Chechnya, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Tajikistan, and former Yugoslavia. Many transitional governments evolving out of communism have been embroiled in identity conflict spurred by social enmity among their highly diverse populations.

Three attributes characterize identity conflicts: extreme partition, widespread citizen involvement, and societal implosion. In the first, identity-based opposition and separatism elicits a deeply rooted individual sense of distinction that cuts through all relationships and societal structures. In and of themselves these distinctions do not create conflict, as one can observe in the many years of relatively peaceful coexistence of mixed populations. When that fundamental characterization of self is threatened, however, it becomes a rallying force creating the will to fight to the extremes witnessed in Butare, Monrovia, and Srebrenica. This hostility seemingly bypasses most ideological considerations, moral regard, and even logic.

The second characteristic—widespread citizen involvement—stems from its grass roots nature. No longer confined to battlefields, isolated targets, or contested territory, the violence now visibly flows into houses, communities, schools, religious grounds, and communal property. No area is sacred; all land and structures are potential battlegrounds. Combatants are often untrained, ordinary citizens of all ages and social stature, or new recruits gathered from the local populace. Correspondingly, victims are also common citizens. Since much of the fighting takes place in the community across identity lines, it involves business associates, neighbors, medical professionals, and educators as well as relatives of mixed blood. The oft-ensuing massive refugee flow equally represents all aspects and tiers of society.

A third trait of identity conflict is the resultant implosion of civilized life. Though all conflict by definition can contain fierce fighting and inhuman brutality, today's bitter hostilities lay ruin to the fundamental structures that make up community. In past conflicts, groups of individuals often united around common, tangible goals, leaving the foundation of the broader society relatively intact, even in defeat. In contrast, when every citizen is a potential victim and a potential combatant as in identity conflict, the social fabric of society is destroyed, torn apart from the inside. The ever-present threat of violence erodes community cohesion to virtual nonexistence while a culture of fear prevails, often scattering members around the region. Furthermore, the intensity of the animosity across identity lines, and the ruthlessness with which it is expressed separates the integrated aspects of mixed cultures. A consequence of identity conflict, accordingly, is social collapse. The once present moral and social order that glued mixed populations together in a common culture essentially disintegrates. Without some semblance of social relationship, the polarized elements close the door to creative

problem solving, and the society ceases to function effectively.

Repercussions of Contemporary Conflict

Although the ruinous consequences of armed violence have been documented since Greek civilization, the number of people effected by identity conflict is considerably more than in previous eras. This is both a function of the sheer prevalence of such conflict worldwide, and of its indiscriminate and grass-roots nature, which defines virtually all humans and all territory as fair game. Negative repercussions are felt at all levels of society through death, disease, dislocation, and famine resulting from large-scale human migration, food insecurity, and failed economic, political, and social structures. The ensuing casualties and societal disruption undermine the basic means of survival, often sending the country into a terminal tailspin and creating a complex emergency. In today's conflicts, in fact, 90 percent of all deaths are civilian casualties from massacres, personal vendettas, grass-roots involvement, indiscriminate attacks, or collateral killings in cross-fires (Ahlström, *Casualties of Conflict*, p. 19). In World War I, this figure was 5 to 8 percent (Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues, *Modern Wars*, p. 25; Ahlström, *Casualties of Conflict*, p. 8).

A more consequential fallout from identity conflict and the ensuing complex emergency is economic devastation. During the course of a crisis, national financial resources are usually depleted through expanded military expenditures, looting, corruption, and, in some cases, humanitarian assistance to citizens. Conflict also undermines domestic economic production by destroying livelihoods, discouraging investment, disrupting trade and commerce, and dissuading capital formation. Ultimately, these failings ruin individual and national economic solvency, depleting the country's ability to care for itself.

Because of its plebeian nature, the physical destruction including possible land mines that accompanies most identity conflicts goes beyond military targets and encompasses everything from airports, railroads, health facilities, homes, roads, and schools, to agricultural land, businesses, cultural centers, factories, religious institutions, and water and electrical systems. Such structural damage is generally concentrated more in some areas with varying degrees of severity, leaving other sections totally unscathed. Less visible than the material destruction but equally devastating, communal violence has a far-reaching effect on individual and community life. Intimate exposure to brutality, and subsequent displacement and civil disorder commonly leave individuals psychologically scarred and the intricate network of social interaction deeply torn. Since armed violence is no longer primarily the domain of trained fighters on the battlefield, but is within the realm of ordinary citizens in house to house combat, these psychological and social effects are necessarily plebeian and widespread.

Furthermore, while men still incur the majority of physical casualties, the profile of the victim is changing as conflict moves from the battleground to the home front. Psychologically, children and women are disproportionately affected as witnesses to attacks on family members, or the victims of rape or assault. During the 1994 Rwanda conflict, for instance, more than 91 percent of children experienced a death in the family (1994 UNICEF Rwanda survey) and a large number of women were raped, often publicly. Moreover, the loss

of family members due to violence can be disproportionately deleterious psychologically to women, children, and the elderly who depend heavily on the familial structure.

The social consequences can be equally grave. Internecine violence demolishes the normal patterns of daily life, creating greater confusion, distrust, and apprehension about future prospects. Amid the enmity and adversity of a violence-ridden community setting, members face the ruins of their lives alone. The more seriously traumatized are often unable to provide for themselves or others and may become marginalized, requiring continual, long-term care (Kumar et al., *The International Response*; Maynard, "Rebuilding Community"). Consequently, some individuals carry the extra burden of having to support newly dependent members with extremely limited resources.

Paradoxically, the widespread upheaval that severs social cohesion also damages the conventional support structures that might have aided psychosocial recovery. In effect, intense violence can impair traditional welfare safety nets for disadvantaged or dependent individuals, suspend formal education, and seriously disrupt public health services. These institutions along with the family unit comprise the primary forms of psychological and social support in most societies. The alienation and disunion characteristic of identity conflicts, however, may have rendered both of these sources of succor incapable of providing adequate assistance.

Furthermore, the conflictual elements invariably remain an undercurrent in the society and undermine recovery efforts. This is particularly acute when displaced neighbors return and the community is forced to confront the contending issues—both the original problems that led to the violence, and the repercussions that ensued (Maynard, *Reintegrating Communities in Conflict*). As a result, post-conflict recovery efforts must incorporate not only physical, economic, social, and psychological elements, but conflict issues as well.

Building a Framework for Recovery

The multidimensional nature of complex emergencies clearly requires an equally multifarious approach to rehabilitation. Ultimately, the process of rebuilding must incorporate all elements and levels of society, addressing basic human needs such as selfhood, security, and physical well-being, and focus on durable social reintegration rather than temporary social overlap (Gutlove et al., "Towards sustainable peace in the Balkans"). By extension, to have a whole community effect, it must attend to the healing of both the victims and the victimizers. The methodology employed necessitates contribution from a broad range of disciplines, including community development, conflict studies, psychology, public health, humanitarian assistance, and sociology.

Though the sources of input are extensive, an operational framework must cater to each particular situation individually. This requires extensive participation from country experts. Local citizens especially play a critical role in explaining historical roots, identifying capacities, eliciting potential activities, advocating actions, locating local resources, carrying out programs, counseling on cultural practices and implications, and pinpointing critical locations or populations. Moreover, a conflict wide response needs to incorporate the intergroup dynamics at the leadership, individual, and community levels, since each influences

the opinions, attitudes, and perceptions of the other, ultimately affecting the grass roots.

As one can see, such a holistic approach requires expanding the concept of peacemaking from that of negotiating settlements between leaders to one inclusive of rebuilding a sense of trust, morality, and participation population wide. The following section outlines a five-phase healing process for communities torn apart by identity conflict.¹ In reviewing these steps, several things are important to consider. Most critical perhaps is the fact that rebuilding community cohesion requires time. Given the profundity of the wounds left by identity conflict, an adequate recuperation period is crucial. Likewise, the process is based on the principle of participation. The more members involved in each phase, the greater the opportunity for healing. Ideally, participation includes members from each identity group, both sexes, a variety of ages, representative occupations, and all levels of social status and class. Finally, each phase builds on the others. While there may be a high degree of overlap, each step nevertheless requires a firm foundation in the previous phase.

1. Establishing Safety. First and foremost to any recovery is ensuring a modicum of security. In communities tormented with repeated violence, safety is the most compelling motive for action. Unstable conditions tend to be exacerbated by the return of community members who fled during earlier bouts of fighting. Property disputes, threats, intimidation, as well as large numbers of internally displaced persons, damaged infrastructure, unemployment, competition for sparse resources, and possible land mines add to the sense of instability. Individuals may feel threatened by other individuals or gangs, identity groups as a whole may feel at risk of large-scale retribution or attacks based on association, and the community at large may be afraid of other regions, the military, or government persecution. In a highly militarized, post-identity-conflict society, the abundance of weaponry and difficulty in distinguishing civilians from fighters makes eradicating the physical threat of violence more difficult. Moreover, economic insecurity can be equally destabilizing if competition for resources is strong and the lack of income threatens famine and disease. Establishing safety, therefore, includes ensuring absence of aggression, property assurance, access to community resources, and minimal income generation.

Technically disengaged from the conflict, international organizations such as peacekeeping forces, international military contingents, and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, in the case of returning migrants, potentially provide a unique security service. As an impartial party, their presence alone—and that of most international entities—usually serves as a significant pacifying force. Ideally, by maintaining strict nonpartisanship, their actions, personnel, and resources are viewed as unbiased, lending them opportunities for greater peacemaking. However, the short time frame of some peacekeeping operations serves as only temporary safety, inadequate for building the genuine sense of stability necessary for sustainable community rehabilitation.

Alternative protection programs offer additional means for international security. Structures using civilians and nonviolent tactics for safeguarding communities are particularly common in Central America, but are underutilized in post-identity-conflict situations. These witness and protection programs post individuals and teams in areas of explicit tension, accompany individuals thought to be in particular danger, and occasionally instigate conflict

resolution efforts. The use of such structures as a reliable method of protection, however, may be dependent on their increased professionalism, consistency, and coordination with other international elements.

While foreign entities can play an important tempering role in hostile environments, establishing internal sources of order and the capacity to provide security fulfills the longer-term safety needs. International assistance can increase, accelerate, refine, and routinize police force training and the development of an adequate justice system, critical to eradicating a culture of impunity. Various forms of such programs have been established in Bosnia, Somalia, and Rwanda. Finally, foreign organizations can advocate, help establish, and empower local organizations dedicated to maintaining peace. Made up of noncontentious, mutually respected and diverse individuals, associations such as peace committees and community watch groups can help prevent community violence, mediate between contentious individuals and groups, serve as go-betweens for international agencies and the local community, support local peace initiatives, and provide incentive and support for local authorities to advocate for conciliatory actions.

2. Communalization and Bereavement. Communalization, the act of sharing traumatic experiences, perceptions, resulting emotions, and responses with other people in a safe environment essentially begins the healing process. This generally occurs in conjunction with a period of mourning over the losses and can only be done in an atmosphere of safety. Both grieving and communalization may require substantial recovery time, particularly given the extreme nature of the violations in identity conflict. Understandably, individuals involved in violent conflict frequently vehemently avoid revisiting the painful experience and resulting emotional content. Nevertheless, honest expression of painful violations has been found to assuage the sense of injustice, while mourning losses eventually subdues the anguish. The venue may be a group, community, or national setting, as in the context of a women's organization, an organized public affair as in a symbolic burial ceremony, or informal gatherings among friends and family. Over time, the process of communalization and bereavement ideally leads to acknowledgment of wrong-doing and forgiveness.

International organizations have supported various projects specifically intent on externalizing and sharing the traumatic events. One example is training programs on traumatic injury in conflict-torn societies. Another is through art, music, dance and drama. Particularly popular with children's programs, these activities not only strive to activate the imagination and social awareness, but to revitalize cultural traditions critical to healing a tormented community. Communalization in international programs also occurs through conflict resolution activities attempting to settle disputes and diffuse tensions. Third-party resident conflict experts are rare at the grass-roots level, however; more common is community training programs attempting to impart skills in facilitation, problem solving, and negotiation. Since such skills training usually spans no more than several days, and the process of communalization and bereavement requires a significant amount of time, their formats do not engage the process, but rather emphasize the value of, and techniques to initiate sharing and grieving. Some go so far as to try to establish a new paradigm of interaction. In addition, several organizations have attempted to rehabilitate and strengthen existing indigenous dispute resolution systems that may have broken down through the course of disintegrating

community relations. This might include revitalizing the elders council, the role of the traditional peacemaker, the justice circle, the tribal court, representative committees, or the mediating role of women's organizations.

Foreign agencies may also encourage, provide resources for, and otherwise support a public process of exploration. This might include paying tribute to the losses through a ceremonial burial for the dead, providing a public symbol in recognition of those killed, holding religious prayers, or a more extensive process of public review such as in South Africa's Truth Commission. Though such public procedures are invariably delicate, shared exploration of the violations and expression of grief can be a catalyst for individual and community psychological and social healing.

3. Rebuilding Trust and the Capacity to Trust. The third phase in community rehabilitation is reconstructing confidence and redeveloping reliance on each other. Betrayal during the course of combat, particularly in today's identity conflicts, undermines faith in others and spawns suspicion. Without normal community wide interdependence, however, the community will likely remain unable to function effectively. Trust is essential to community transactions in trade, economic cooperation, mutual assistance, reconstruction, care for dependents, decision making, and future development. Renewed confidence in a violence-torn society includes general belief in the good intentions of other community members, reliance on them for common services, taking a responsible role in society, and commitment to the joint future of the community.

Relief and development projects may have trust-building attributes. Conventional reconstruction programs attempt to return the community to its pre-conflict state and re-establish a sense of normality. By selecting projects that require the benevolence of adversarial parties for the benefit of all, international organizations can jump-start the trust-building process. For example, in several conflict-torn situations, international NGOs instigated housing reconstruction projects for returning refugees and displaced persons that required the labor and even material contribution of the local population. The personal investment in the fate of the returnees resulted in their greater overall accommodation, and the gesture of good will on the part of the community was a large first step in restoring trust. Foreign agencies can specifically gear such projects to intergroup interaction by designating roles for people of mixed identity make-up and requesting tasks requiring growing levels of trust. Organizations using local purchase for materials, for instance, can consider explicitly buying across conflict lines, thereby establishing confidence in the manufacturing, deliverance, and quality of goods produced by the dissimilar groups.

Foreign organizations can establish a similar milieu of commitment and reliance through credit incentives and joint small enterprise programs that encourage interaction as a condition to funding. For example, small business start-up credit may be granted more readily to those proposing cross-conflict partnership, those hiring across identity lines, or those intending to locate in shared areas, high-tension zones or in areas traditional to other groups.

4. Reestablishing Personal and Social Morality. In armed violence, morality and social rules have been thrashed, creating a kind of social anarchy. Healing psychological and social

wounds necessitates reconstructing the concept of ethics and reestablishing guidelines for individual behavior. Social mores might include acceptable standards for appropriate contact between each segment of the population, standards of honesty, forbidden grounds, responsibility to family and community, personal accountability, role of loyalty and obligation, and methods for handling various emotions such as anger, injustice, betrayal, envy, jealousy, and the like. The development of healthy social standards is essential to building group faith and providing a foundation for social interaction. Moreover, it helps place boundaries on specific actions, thereby delineating inappropriate or offensive behavior that could eventually build tension and lead to resumption of hostilities.

Simply recognizing the need for such rules and order may be the first step in the process. The second step is acknowledging the immorality of past acts, which was actually begun in phase two in the process of divulging grievances. Next, delineating and firmly asserting a moral order sets the code of conduct as a legitimate social structure. This may be an informal, verbal process of fixing limitations on individual behavior, and may also be an institutional procedure defining legal boundaries and ramifications for violation. The last step in the process is maintaining the established codes. For institutionalized ethical rules of behavior to be effective, members of society must be held accountable for their actions. A sense of responsibility for individual behavior, then, should be part of community life, and any deviance must be regarded seriously.

Ethics are fundamentally very personal, evolving from cultural, historical, and societal influences. Therefore, foreign organizations play a somewhat peripheral role in supporting and encouraging renewal of a moral climate. However, international entities can offer discussion forums on rebuilding moral guidelines for government and community leaders, and support public dialog in which the population engages in debate over new rules for human conduct or reviews past infractions. Clearly, funding and technical assistance for rejuvenating the judicial system can play a major part in reestablishing social ethics. Similarly, international organizations can support the media's important role in the debate on moral standards. Promoting ethical conduct in social institutions also merits international advocacy. UNICEF, for example supported school curriculum revision in Rwanda and Lebanon to eliminate biased and stereotyped material and promote discussion of moral principles.

5. Reintegration and Restoration of Democratic Discourse. The last phase in rebuilding social cohesion is the process of systematizing diverse contributions to community affairs. If a healthy society is one that accepts an amalgamation of its varied components, then the reintegration of dispersed societal elements can restore the community spirit and help ensure its sustainability. Though not without contention, such a community has the skills and structure with which to handle disputes peacefully. This broad inclusiveness supports participatory discussion that allows the community to make comprehensive decisions, plan for the future, and implement development strategies.

The process of reintegration centers on reconstructing inclusive systems of interaction. In a deeply divided society such as those recovering from identity conflict, this requires problem-solving approaches that accommodate some elements of all parties' interests, incorporating meaningful participation from a broad base of community members, and

focusing on long-term effectiveness, rather than short-term productivity. In addition to obvious challenges such as reconstruction of water systems, hospitals, roads, and houses, decisions in post-conflict societies arise about care of unaccompanied children, assistance to widows, burial sites for the dead, and opening of schools. Even more contentious are such problems as land ownership, new leadership, council membership, and political affiliations. International organizations can take advantage of the pending issues to help lay the foundation for the decision-making process, thereby contributing to democratic dialog. Accordingly, they can help establish ground rules, procedures, and methods for handling disagreements, and provide guidance and facilitation during the initial discussions of common needs. Optimally, this will lead to consensus on projects and procedures for implementation. A healthy decision-making structure ultimately can be used as a format for rediscovering unity, discussing differences, and developing a common vision, all of which contribute to intracommunal reintegration.

One example of a democratization mechanism the international community can support is rebuilding traditional decision-making structures, such as elders councils, religious institutions, committee formats, and citizen plenary sessions. Though elements of these pre-conflict establishments may have been biased or oppressive, the process of correcting the inequities and empowering the institutions may itself help move the society toward a more rooted, participatory, and harmonious structure. Similarly, a strong civil society provides access to the democratic process. In a healthy political structure, by definition, civil society offers a format for citizen participation in, and influence on decision making. International support for the revival of indigenous, new, or preexisting charity, civic, nongovernmental, work-related, or task-oriented groups can contribute to this process.

Another way of encouraging integration is through the selection of projects that benefit both sides of a mixed community and that require intergroup participation. Road reconstruction, repair of telephone lines and public utilities, and rehabilitation of shared social ministrations, such as hospitals and schools, are good project candidates. International organizations that focus on such activities can invite long-term, intergroup interaction if they intentionally employ staff representative of all sides, identify equally diverse project participants, hold joint meetings, insist on cooperative decision making, request in-kind labor and material donations, and orchestrate shared management and maintenance of projects.

Another catalyst for integration, Quick Impact Projects (QIPs) implemented during the potentially destabilizing period when forced migrants return home, not only provide an immediate economic boost to the home community, but can jump-start social reintegration through immediate return on cooperative efforts. In Cambodia, for instance, QIPs in water, sanitation, agriculture, fishing, and income generation significantly facilitated returnee reintegration. Supporting independent media is yet another means of fostering open discussion on issues of rehabilitation, publicizing successful intergroup cooperation and programs rebuilding community relations, and presenting discussions on topics of civic import.

These five phases of healing present a generic, ideal progression of a segregated and hostile population into a respectful, cooperating community committed to mutual future development and sustainable peace. In reality, the process of reintegration, rebuilding

community cohesion, and eventual reconciliation is unduly complex and undoubtedly prolonged. There is no cathartic cure for the wounds of violence. Nevertheless, as actors in post-conflict settings, the international community has little choice but to approach recovery in a comprehensive, yet visionary manner. This entails addressing identity conflicts from a holistic view, incorporating not only a range of disciplines and levels of society, but a longer time frame and more sectors of activity.

A Vision of the Future

Looking back at the seven years since the end of the cold war, one can legitimately argue that the global response to complex emergencies has progressed in some significant ways. Research and programming in post-conflict recovery, for example, has begun to receive greater attention, revealing interesting possibilities for future and ongoing field work. Equally visible, however, is the need for further changes. In the years to come, one can envision the international community refining its understanding and attitude toward intercession based on lessons learned from past experience to encompass the broader picture and incorporate the realities of today's evolving global dynamics.

In this vision, international organizations will take the full spectrum of the healing process into account, using and developing local capacities in each phase. Scholars, practitioners, and policy makers will combine efforts to create reality-based programs that more closely reflect the needs of the community recovering from identity conflict. They will draw on the expertise of a full range of disciplines and country experts to gain a thorough understanding of the broader, conflict wide picture and specific local conditions. International NGOs will rely on local capacities, building skills and resources as well as civil society. Issues of gender and identity will be incorporated into all programs, attempting to bridge the gaps and encourage reintegration. Moreover, the plight of community residents will be of equal concern to that of refugees and internally displaced persons, and rehabilitation efforts will focus on whole community needs.

At the same time, the international eye will not turn away when the crisis begins to abate. To the contrary, the camera will continue to portray images of activities addressing each phase in the recovery process. Acknowledgment of the extensive recovery time needed for healing will translate to long-term commitment in funding, organizational support, devotion of staff, and acceptance of personnel and programmatic hazards. Exit strategies will be a prime consideration for all international entities; timely departure to avoid dependency will entail a careful transition incorporating training, funding mechanisms, and capacity building.

Most important, our future actions will be based on a conceptual framework for post-conflict recovery and placed in a strategic plan that we constantly adjust to fit new realities. In this view, not only do we meet the continually changing needs of reconstruction aid, but we expand our concept of humanitarianism itself. We are gradually understanding that affecting the physical condition of individuals does not necessarily ameliorate their condition nor reduce the potential for greater pain. In fact, international aid is evolving beyond the process of simply saving lives to incorporating an integrated response to the entire range of factors

causing physical and nonphysical human pain. Such a collective vision can serve as a common focal point for refining our global capacity. With this philosophy, perhaps we can roll into the 21st century with new ideals for international aid in post-conflict societies.

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For more on the phases of healing, see Maynard, *Reintegrating Communities in Conflict: International Assistance in Complex Emergencies*, Columbia University Press, forthcoming.